

How It Feels To Be In Moscow

THE "Berliner Tageblatt" is now printing a series of articles on conditions in Russia, by Hans Vorst, one of the best-informed German authorities on Russian affairs, whom the "Tageblatt" has sent as a special correspondent to Moscow. In one of his latest articles, written in the beginning of September, Hans Vorst speaks of the great change which has recently taken place in the general appearance of Moscow. He says:

"Everywhere one sees traces of the fighting in the streets. On the Nikitskaya there is a large building in which during the days of last October the last supporters of the Kerensky government defended themselves against the Bolsheviks. On all parts of it cannon shells have left their impressions. Around this building are many others in ruins, either burned or demolished by gun fire. All over the city, and especially in the centrally located sections, one sees the effects of the machine gun fire. There remain intact very few of the large beautiful show windows formerly so characteristic of Moscow. Many of them are broken and others are riddled with bullet holes. People have given up putting in new glass. What is the use of new windows? A short while and they will be shattered."

"Even now there is a great deal of shooting going on. Late in the evening, when the city seems to be at rest, one hears shots exchanged here and there. I have even heard shooting in the centre of the city during the day. People do not pay any attention to it; a mere glance and one continues on his way. The hurried recruiting of the Bolshevik armies has resulted in the giving of arms to men who do not know how to handle them. Doubtless many a shot is due to accident. But often the firing is due rather to wantonness."

"Hotel Metropol—one of the most luxurious centres of Russia, where one formerly met the wealthiest Russians and the leading diplomats of Russia, prominent English ladies and foreign representatives—is now the 'Second Home of the Soviet,' which are located the Bolshevik Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Red Guard staff and many other institutions of the Soviet republic. Here, too, traces of shell fire are everywhere noticeable, just as in the buildings of the adjoining Kremlin. But the damage done to the Kremlin is not so great as it has been reported. The press reports were exaggerated. Formerly the palaces of the Kremlin were the residences of the Romanoffs. To-day many Bolshevik authorities are living in them. Lenin has his residence in the Kremlin."

"All the entrances are locked and guarded. Red, weather-beaten flags are hanging from the towers. The guard in the Kremlin consists of Lettish troops. One hears no Russian spoken. Nothing but Lettish. In order to gain admission to the Kremlin one must obtain a special permit from the authorities; the place is closed to the 'bourgeoisie.'"

In another article Hans Vorst shows how the Bolsheviks are gradually losing followers. After pointing out that many of the most ardent adherents of Bolshevism have found that the Bolshevik teachings are not so good in practice as they had appeared in theory, he says:

"It is, therefore, not strange that one finds among the masses many bitter opponents of the Bolsheviks. But I am really surprised at the rapidity with which the opponents of Bolshevism have grown in strength among the peasantry. Immediately on my arrival in Russia I had an opportunity to learn that even among the workmen—the strongest support of the Bolsheviks—adherence to Bolshevism was not general. On my way to Moscow I met an intelligent labor leader who himself was a Bolshevik and had formerly been very active for Bolshevism. He told me that in his home city a very great part of the workmen have turned away from the Bolsheviks. Their feelings are turning against the Soviets. In reply to my question: How can the Bolsheviks remain in power when even their own followers are turning away from them? He declared that the Bolsheviks are tottering, but that their end is not to be expected immediately, for in all important centres of Russia they have concentrated power and would, in case of necessity, be able to defend themselves to the last."

"Also in Moscow considerable parts of the workmen have fallen away from the Bolsheviks. I was one day riding in the streetcar when a company of mounted Red Guards hurried by. An old workman sitting near me tauntingly pointed at them and said: 'Tovaristshi!' This word, the real meaning of which is 'Comrades,' is now ironically used in connection with the supporters of the Bolshevik régime and the Red Guards; it shows the discredit into which the system has sunk; it emphasizes the contrast there is now between the armed power of the Soviets and the masses of the real proletariat. My neighbor said to me that in his trade 80 per cent of the workmen are now hostile to the Soviets, but that they do not dare as yet to step out openly against them."

Of the feelings of the Russians toward the Germans, Hans Vorst says:

"The bitterness against Germany and everything German is very general. I began to feel it immediately on my journey to Moscow when a woman began to talk in a careless and insulting manner of the German character, although she knew that I was a German."

Conditions in Petrograd are worse than in any other part of Russia. A Swiss citizen, formerly an employee of the Russian Ministry of Commerce, in an interview with the "Corriere della Sera" gives the following picture of life in Petrograd, whence he has just succeeded in escaping:

"The great maxim of Petrograd to-day is: 'Plunder everything that can be plundered.' Everything you possess has been acquired through theft, say the Soviet authorities. Therefore requisitions and confiscations are daily occurrences. With the pretext of looking for arms in your house, or with some other excuse, the Bolshevik officials carry away anything they please. It is brigandage under the protection of the state."

"One does not dare to leave one's house in the evening. The streets are no longer illuminated, and one continually hears mysterious rifle or revolver shots. In the morning those killed or wounded are carried away."

"Among the houses robbed have been even those of the ambassadors from Italy and many other countries. No distinctions are made between friendly and neutral states. Plunder is the motto."

"There are very few newspapers published in Petrograd. All of them are Bolshevik papers, which carry no news, but attack each other. One never finds in them a bit of news—the least hint of what is going on in Russia."

"The consequences of the Siberian situation are now felt everywhere. Last week we had no bread for two days in succession. The substitute was a sort of dried vegetables. Prices are rising daily: a bottle of milk costs to-day 3 rubles, meat 10 rubles a pound, a chicken 40 rubles, flour 10 rubles a pound."

"The people are starving. Every day one sees people dropping on the street from exhaustion and hunger. In the country which had been the richest in wheat people are now starving. Yesterday forty persons were picked up in the streets of Petrograd suffering from hunger, who died after they had been brought to the hospital."

"The other day I witnessed a scene that is worth mentioning. I was returning from the Swiss Cooperative Society with forty pounds of potatoes. Naturally I took the streetcar. On the Nicholas bridge our car was stopped by a horse which was dying in the street of hunger. Some people tried to save him by giving him some hay, but it was too late."

"In the car people talked of the hunger in the city. One of them said that was the fifth horse he had seen starving in the street. In the course of the conversation I remarked that the hunger would become still worse, because Siberia has been cut off from Russia. There was a Bolshevik soldier over and ordered me to follow him. He came for explanations. He said I must present myself before his sovden (Bolshevik officer). I followed him with my bag of potatoes. He brought me before an inquiry commission. The soldier made his deposition, and I was told that I had uttered counter-revolutionary propaganda and that I had defamed the Bolshevik government."

Only the fact that he was a Swiss citizen, the informant of the "Corriere della Sera" concluded, saved him from a punishment more severe than the confiscation of his potatoes."



Bolshevik administration of justice in a primitive court in Petrograd

—From The London Graphic

Instead

A Lament by the Merchants of Vladivostok

THE manufacturers and merchants of Vladivostok recently issued a proclamation to the population setting forth the evil effects of rule by the Bolsheviks. The proclamation said:

"The food committees took over from the

merchants the entire sale of wheat, and as a result the price of bread has risen from 6 kopeks to 45 kopeks (about 11d.) per pound. Flour is 80 rubles a sack, instead of 12.50, as previously."

"The committee also took over the petroleum trade, and that is why we have now to pay 1 ruble 20 kopeks a pound."

"The same occurred with every essential product the committee took in their hands from the tradesmen, so that everything became enormously expensive."

"Wherever the workmen's control has been established it has led to the ruin and collapse of the entire trade and industry, because instead of skilled and experienced men the conduct and management was taken over by men without any experience and utterly unacquainted with this kind of work. Thanks to the breakdown of the trade and factories, hundreds of thousands of workmen and clerks are without employment and without any means of living."

"Instead of a peace as promised, Germany is seizing hundreds of Russian towns and whole countries, enlisting our citizens and sending them into Germany to fight against our allies."

"Instead of peace we have a fearful internal war, with constant bloodshed. Kief is ruined, the famous Moscow citadel is destroyed, as well as many Russian towns."

"Instead of bread, the people have starvation and wholesale unemployment, and as a consequence epidemics, taking away thousands of lives."

"Instead of land for the peasants, the Russian land becomes the property of the Germans, for whom our peasants will be working as slaves."

"Instead of peace—robbery, murder, slaughter, unprovoked arrests, lynching, and not even a sign of free speech and press."

"That is what those who promised us so much have given us."

THROUGH THE EYES OF TWO CAPITALS

The Prophets Can't Catch Up

Events Now Race at Headlong Pace, and "The Extent of the Allied Victory Is Just What They Want to Make It"

By Arthur S. Draper

(Special Cable to The Tribune)
(Copyright, 1918, New York Tribune Inc.)

LONDON, October 5. GREATER even than the Russian withdrawal is Bulgaria's surrender to the Allies. Fighting ceased at noon on September 30. America substituted for Russia, but Germany has no understanding for Bulgaria.

The retirement of Bulgaria followed the dramatic campaign in Macedonia, which d'Esperey conducted with a skill surpassed only by its daring. There are two views as to the reason for Bulgaria's decision:

1. It is declared that it was the direct result of the collapse of the Bulgarian armies and the invasion into the country, and,

2. It is stated the Premier had contemplated the step for many weeks, but d'Esperey anticipated the move and struck in advance.

Under the terms of the armistice the British, French and Italian forces began military occupation of the country, taking over the land and water communications, thus severing Turkey from her allies. The Serbians and Greeks immediately began occupation of the territory which had been in the enemy's hands. The Austrians started to withdraw from Albania and Montenegro. Militarily the Bulgarian surrender is of great strategic value to the Entente, as it eliminated an enemy with an army of 300,000, isolated Turkey, gave the Allies an opportunity to attack her from the north and Austria from the south, and opened up the possibility of helping Rumania and Russia by way of the Black Sea.

Politically Bulgaria's surrender means the end of Germany's Mitteleuropa dream, the scrapping of the Treaty of Bucharest, the restoration of the Entente prestige in the Balkans, the liberation of Serbia—one of the chief Allied war aims—a heavy blow to the morale of the civilians and the soldiers of Germany, Austria and Turkey, and a corresponding improvement in the morale of the European Allies.

Russia's collapse was the first great development of the war, America's entry was the second, and the Bulgarian surrender the third. The Balkan situation will remain unsettled until the peace conference, when an effort will be made to do something more than use shears on the present map.

Before the armistice was signed d'Esperey's army had completed the job so well

that the Bulgarian forces were trapped. While the terms of the armistice were being considered at Salonica five gigantic battles were raging in France, and the German hosts were reeling backward across the Flanders lowlands, the plains of Picardy, through ravines, over hills, mountains and forests, on the Aisne, in the Champagne, the Ardennes and along the Meuse.

There is no parallel for the gigantic struggle in which Foch has hurled the best of the French, British, American and Belgian armies in a final effort to cripple and crush the enemy this year. It is only fair to say that the Germans fought with great courage, stubbornness and determination, after saying that the Allies deserve greater praise for the marvellous successes which crowned their efforts.

As the struggle increased the violence of Foch's fingers gripped deeper into the German flanks in Flanders and the Argonne and Ludendorff's task grew from that of retreating to a new and shorter line to one of exhorting his armies from a disastrous position. As this is written it seems almost an even chance that Ludendorff can escape this time, but at a cost which will cripple him permanently. At this moment the whole German position is at the point of dissolution.

The Belgian push succeeded beyond all expectations, while the vaunted Hindenburg line, the last word in military defence, was breached in many places and Cambrai and St. Quentin and La Fere were uncovered. Cambrai was fired by Germans on Monday night, when the British practically enveloped the city. St. Quentin fell to the French under Berthelot on Tuesday, following the outflanking move on Monday by Rawlinson's army.

On September 30 the Crown Prince began a rapid retirement between St. Gobain and Rheims, where Mangin was pressing him hard. In the Champagne Gouraud met desperate resistance, but Tuesday found the French through the enemy's first defences and on the following day the first and second lines were stormed. Grand Pré, in one of the defiles of the Argonne, was within range of both the French and American guns by midweek, and the Germans were forced to retire from the forest to the swells up the Aire Valley.

The Americans between the Meuse and Argonne rivers unfortunately encountered powerful German reserves, but Pershing never slackened the pressure for a moment, and though his progress was slow, he pinned down a force which the Germans desperately needed on the Cambrai and Ypres front.

Unity of command has reached the highest state of perfection in the marvellous teamwork of the Allies. Ludendorff found his reserves inadequate, and he had to gamble. He failed. He stripped the Flanders front and a general collapse re-

sulted. The weather has turned badly against the Allies, especially north of Rheims; Flanders has become a great marsh and the Somme little better. The Allied transport performed miracles in road building, and the pursuit of the enemy continued unchecked, even by the difficulties of communication.

Meantime Hertling's resignation was accepted and the Kaiser, debating whether to set up a moderate or a militarist government, finally made Prince Maximilian of Baden Chancellor. All Germany is in an unprecedented state of excitement, the people being divided between the desire for immediate peace and the determination to fight a defensive war.

Crowds gathered in front of the Bulgarian Legation and cheered, while a number of riots broke out in Vienna. The militarists, who were fighting for their lives, controlled the situation. Following Hertling's resignation came the collapse of practically the whole government. The Socialist Scheidemann warned the country that no peace was possible until internal reforms were introduced, which means the introduction of constitutional reforms and practically the retirement of the Kaiser from his autocratic position.

In the Allied countries there is a tremendous rebound of reawakening interest in the war. Though celebrations were postponed, there is no mistaking the enthusiasm of the people of England, France and Italy, not to mention Belgium, Greece and Serbia.

June 17 will become a memorable date in world history. It is now clear that the failure of the Austrian attempt to smash the Italian defences on the Piave was the "beginning of the end" of the Central Powers. Had the Austrians breached the Italian lines the story of last week would have been far different, and had Foch been forced to send reinforcements to the Italian ally Gouraud's elastic defence to the east of Rheims would probably have been no more successful than von Armin's barrier east of Ypres. Had the Italians broken on June 17 the Franco-American reaction a month later might have been impossible.

Austria failed Germany at a critical moment and the Bulgarian surrender resulted. The wonderful German military machine is cracking and puffing like a worn-out motor. Hindenburg said that the war would be won by the nation with the best nerves, and Ludendorff said that victory would come to the nation who had the last reserves. Bulgaria's nerve broke and Germany's reserves are being rapidly exhausted.

Just over a year ago Lloyd George called the Western front "an impenetrable barrier." This week we have seen the Hindenburg line breached and destroyed by the British troops.

In 1917 Haig fought from July 31 to the middle of November to gain the crest of Passchendaele Ridge at a cost which staggered Britain. This week the British, French and Belgian troops swept over the Flanders hills far out into the lowlands in a single day. In October, 1917, the war correspondents encouraged the Allies by describing the view from Passchendaele, and to-day the Germans are frantically collecting bags and baggage for a hurried withdrawal.

No mortal man could forecast the developments of the past week, no prophet dares to venture to predict what the next turn will bring forth. Germany is defeated, but unconquered. The war is in the final phase. The extent of the Allied victory is just what they want to make it. Beyond that none can go.

Because the Women Lost

The Defeat of the Suffrage Amendment Affects Politics Generally. . . Colleges and the War . . . Other Washington News

By Carter Field

(Special Dispatch to The Tribune)
(Copyright, 1918, New York Tribune Inc.)

WASHINGTON, October 5. POLITICAL campaigns for several years to come were affected more or less directly by the rejection by the Senate this week of the woman suffrage amendment, even after a plea from President Wilson that the amendment be submitted to the states for ratification as a war measure.

The direct appeal by the President, the more spectacular because it was unprecedented for a President to urge one House of Congress to pass any particular measure, and the more annoying to the anti-suffragists in that the President of the United States has no function to perform on resolutions amending the Constitution, will probably have the effect of preventing any of the suffrage workers campaigning against candidates for the House and Senate merely because they are Democrats. Democrats were particularly fearful that the women would concentrate against Senator Henderson, in Nevada, who is being opposed by a Republican, Representative Roberts, who is personally very popular.

The woman's party element was insisting up to the time that the President went before the Senate that he was responsible, and he could force the amendment through if he wished. This element is not only stronger in Nevada than, probably, in any other state, but one of the prominent women of the organization is a candidate for United States Senator on an independent ticket. So that any campaigning by them directed particularly against the Democratic party might easily have the effect of electing Roberts.

The national importance of the election in Nevada, one of the smallest states in the Union in population, is that from present prospects it is not impossible that the control of the Senate may be so close that a Democrat from Nevada would result in the Democrats controlling the organization and all the committees of the Senate for the next two years, while a Republican Senator might give the Republicans that important measure of patronage and power.

Only two Senators from states in which women have the right of franchise voted against the amendment, Senators Wadsworth, of New York, and Borah, of Idaho. Of these, Borah alone comes up for reelection this time, and the women say they are planning a bitter fight against him. However, his position against the Federal amendment has been consistently held, and in the recent primaries in Idaho in which women, of course, voted he was nominated by a popular vote of about 3 to 1.

Not many Senators among those who voted to kill the amendment come from doubt-

ful states. Of these, Senator Saulsbury, president pro tem. of the Senate, is perhaps the most prominent. He faces a bitter fight in Delaware this time and the women are hoping to defeat him.

The educational institutions of the country are being turned into a part of the country's war preparatory machine. Several hundred thousand young men less than twenty years of age will be inducted into the army and then assigned to the colleges, where they will undergo military training and sleep in barracks for about three months. After that most of them will be assigned to officers' training camps, or to technical schools of training, or, if they have not displayed talents along those lines, to a cantonment for training as enlisted men. Their places at the colleges will be taken by other recruits. Thus it is intended to give all of the boys a three months' period of training at college.

The training period of West Point, the military academy which almost from the foundation of the country has supplied the majority of the army officers, has been gradually pruned from four years, the original course, until this week it was announced it would be one year for each class from now until the end of the war.

The most sensational charges of collusion with Germans so far filed against any American official were lodged this week with Secretary of State Lansing against an American Minister to a Latin-American republic by the intelligence section of the War Trade Board and by an official of the Public Health service. The charge was that this official had given free access to the confidential records of his legation to German agents.

It is expected that a sweeping inquiry will be made into the German propaganda in several of the Latin-American republics where Germany is building now for after-the-war trade. The Germans are working especially against American concerns, charging that the Americans are now squeezing the Latin-Americans by their profiteering.

Washington this week, as a result of the epidemic of Spanish influenza, is churchless, theatricless and movieless. All indoor gatherings are under the ban so as to prevent the spread of the disease.

The President this week signed an appropriation bill of \$500,000,000 for the purposes of developing special mineral resources of the country as a war measure. This is designed to save ship tonnage, used to bring necessary minerals long distances, and also to safeguard the supplies. The President is given unusual powers in the bill. He may, for instance, impose special import duties to protect certain minerals without any action by Congress. He may commandeer mines and operate them. He may lease mines, or lend capital to concerns too weak financially to develop properly their holdings.

The Kaiser's Third Chancellor

THE appointment this week of Prince Maximilian of Baden as Imperial Chancellor of Germany has not been received by the

American press, so far as opinions have come in, as denoting any considerable change in Germany's policy in respect to the war. However, the fact that the Kaiser has had to appoint his third Chancellor within a year is taken as emphasizing the instability of political conditions within his realm, and the nomination of a distinct Moderate is regarded with satisfaction, being interpreted as a weakening of the imperial mind before the rising strength of democracy in Germany itself. The event is also treated as being, to an even more important extent, the Kaiser's reaction to the sledge-hammer pounding of the Allied armies upon the crumbling Hindenburg line.

Some of Prince Maximilian's moderate utterances have been noted in press reports as being in his favor, and ex-Ambassador Gerard's favorable opinion of him as also duly noted; yet the prince has a "bad press" on this side. While the papers are not disposed to deal severely with him personally, the thought is stressed on all sides that it makes no great difference who is Chancellor under present conditions, since Germany itself must be radically changed.

The Tribune regards the appointment as "stooping to democracy," and says of the prince:

"He seems to lack something of the ferocity and arrogance which are the hallmarks of the modern shepherds of the German flock. So he fits into the stage picture of Germany turning away from Kaiserism and Kultur and putting her destiny into the hands of men who are akin to the humble and are upborne by their love and trust. . . . Yet it will be the same old Germany under all these ingratiating disguises. So long as Prussia is tied up to the Hohenzollerns it doesn't matter who is Chancellor,

who votes in Prussia or who sits in the imperial Cabinet."

"The New York Sun" classifies the appointment as "window dressing" and writes:

"Time spent in speculation as to the political opinions and possible future activities of Prince Max of Baden, the new Imperial German Chancellor, is time wasted. That he has not been as vociferous as some other German statesmen in the proclamation of non-Germanism is a matter of no account. . . . The more the German Chancellor changes the more he remains the same, and nothing could be less useful than seriously to spend gray matter in guessing what the personality of the latest functionary in Wilhelmstrasse betokens."

"The New York World" dismisses the matter curtly thus:

"As German Imperial Chancellor, Prince Maximilian of Baden will probably do as well as any other the Kaiser may be pleased to select. When the proper time comes he, too, will be unloaded to pay for the sins of his Prussian masters."

The appointment will have no weight outside of Germany, in the opinion of "The New York Herald," since it is the business of the Allies to continue fighting till Germany admits defeat in the Bulgarian fashion. It adds:

"But Max of Baden must not think for a moment that he or any one else can cajole the Entente into discussion of peace, because of any internal political changes in Germany short of sweeping away the Hohenzollerns and the militarist and Junker gangs who have brought the world to its present pass."

"The new Chancellor cannot be regarded as a man fitting the Kaiser's description of one 'borne up by the people's trust,' in the opinion of "The New York Evening Post." It admits that he may be well beloved, personally, yet adds that "it is obvious that Germany's difficulties are now too great to be brushed away by any political device or by any one man."

"The Philadelphia Public Ledger" leaves it to events to determine the significance of the appointment. It classifies the prince as a Moderate and as opposed to the pan-German idea, but disposes of him in this crushing sentence:

"Ludendorff and Hindenburg are the men who rule Germany, with due deference to the All-Highest, and until their iron grasp is broken it is idle to pretend that the day of popular government in Germany has come."

Those Striking Ukrainians

FOR the last few weeks a general strike of all railroad employees has been going on in Ukraine, writes the Kief correspondent of the "Frankfurter Zeitung." The German efforts to replace the strikers by German soldiers have proved very little successful, as the strikers are employing aggressive tactics and their methods have thrown the entire Ukrainian railway system into disorder. The strike, the "Frankfurter Zeitung" admits, is of a political character and is directed chiefly against Germany and Hetman Skoropadsky's government.

As a result of the strike, traffic has been tied up in many parts of Ukraine and the shipment of Ukrainian grain and raw materials to Germany was stopped for a brief period. At present, although the Ukrainian railway system has been reorganized by the substitution of German soldiers for the striking Ukrainian railway men, nevertheless the Ukrainian supplies flowing into Germany are insignificant as compared with those before the outbreak of the strike. The strike has furthermore resulted in raising the price of food, and so, for example, a pound of butter has risen from 7 to 12 rubles, potatoes have risen 100 per cent, and many other essential articles have risen 200 and 300 per cent.

Explaining the character of the strike, the "Frankfurter Zeitung" writes:

"There is no doubt that the strike in Ukraine has been brought about by political reasons; it is caused by propaganda coming from abroad and is aimed directly against the Ukrainian government and the Central Powers. It has now spread all over Ukraine. The authorities have arrested several of the ringleaders who came from Russia. It has not been possible, however, to discover the central organization controlling the strike; the chiefs of it are working in secret and have secret quarters. The organization has large sums of money at its disposal. It is known that in the district of Charkov alone they have a fund of 10,000,000 rubles. It is difficult to find the leaders of this secret strike organization, as there is no secret police in Ukraine."

"To obtain an idea of the character of the strike one ought to read the widely spread proclamation issued by the secret strike committee, which declares: 'The time is drawing near when the peasants and workmen will be freed from the oppressors and usurpers, the Hetman and the German Haidamaks! Let us all be ready to rise against them at a given moment! The object of the present strike is only to destroy communications so that the enemy will be unable to move his troops. The enemy is robbing us and taking away our bread so that he may be able to go on fighting in the west. Brethren! We have suffered from the imperial dogs long enough. By supporting the strike and destroying railway communications, help the armed peasants so that they may be able at a given moment to hurl themselves upon the cities!'"